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THE UNIVERSITY OF NALANDA[1]

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Sources: The history of Nālandā as derived from different sources, literary texts, and antiquities of various periods and classes, such as structural remains, works of art, sculptures, inscriptions on copper-plates, on stone, on seals and plaques, and coins, as unearthed by archaeological excavation, is fairly well-known. I do not intend in this paper to tread broken ground and repeat the known. My endeavour will be to present some known facts in their new relations and draw out their implications which have not received adequate attention.

Post-Graduate University: Foreign Students: The first fact to be known about Nālandā is that it was not a University in the modern sense of the term. It was a University confined to post-graduate study, a centre of research, like the Institute of Science at Bangalore. As such, it attracted foreign scholars hailing from distant countries. Its reputation as a seat of the highest learning then available in Asia led them to seek it against all odds, the hardships, the difficulties, and the risks attending journeys in those days along the land-routes to India, and also sea-routes. Scholars came to Nālandā from countries like China, Japan, Korea [*J. R. A. S.* XIII, N. S., p. 556], Mongolia [p. 26 of Takakusu's I-tsing], Tukhāra [Ib. p. 566], Tibet and Ceylon [*Ib.* pp. 563-4].

Yuan Chwang and *I-tsing*: It is a matter of singular good fortune that copious and concrete details of the working of the Nālandā University are given by two learned Chinese scholars on the basis of the direct experience and inside knowledge gained by them as students in residence at the University for sufficiently long periods. The first of these scholars was Yuan Chwang who had been a resident student of the University for 5 years (*c.* 635-640 A. D.) and was followed by I-tsing who stayed at Nālandā as a student for as many as 10 years from 675 A. D.

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One of the attractions of Nālandā as well as of other Schools of India to foreign scholars was its collection of sacred works and relics. Yuan Chwang brought home from India as many as 657 MSS together with "images of the Buddha and his saints in gold and silver, and crystal, and sandalwood, many curious pictures, 150 true relics of the Buddha," which had to be "borne on 20 horses." I-tsing's acquisition comprised some 400 Sanskrit texts containing 500,000 ślokas, and also 300 relics.

Students from Korea: Some of the realistic and refreshing details of education at Nālandā may be briefly mentioned. Two students from Korea achieved great distinction by their study at Nālandā. The first was named Āryavarmā who came to Nālandā in A. D. 630 and died here at 70. The second Korean scholar is named Hwui Yieh who also died at Nālandā at the age of 60. I-tsing found the following line written on a Chinese MS. at Nālandā: "The Korean priest Hwui Yieh wrote this record."

We know these names, because I-tsing happend to note them. Many were the foreign scholars at Nālandā whose names were not thus noted. I-tsing states that in the interval of about 40 years, before and after Yuan Chwang, as many as 56 scholars visited India from such foreign countries as China, Japan and Korea, most of whom came to Nālandā for study by travelling by land *via* Khoten, Tibet, and Nepal, while some came by way of the sea *via* Tāmralipti.

Fortunately, I-tsing has mentioned the names of some of these foreign scholars who were his contemporaries at Nālandā. Some of these are mentioned below :—

(1) Śramaṇa Hiuen-Tchao (Prakāśamati). He studied at Nālandā for 3 years (c. A. D. 660) under his teacher, Jinaprabha, the Mādhyamika Śāstra and the Śata-Śāstra and, later, Yoga under Ratnasiṁha.

(2) Tao-hi (Śrī-deva) who dwelt for years at Nālandā as a student of Mahāyāna.

(3) Fo-touo-ta-mouo (Buddhadharma), a native of Tukharestan, whom I-tsing met at Nālandā.

(4) Tao-Cheng (Chandradeva) (A. D. 649) who won royal esteem by his eminence in learning.

(5) Ta-Cheng-teng (Mahāyāna-pradīpa) who first learnt Sanskrit by 12 years' study at Tāmralipti and then came to Nālandā in the company of I-tsing.

(6) Tao-lin (Śīlaprabha) who resided at Nālandā for many years as a student of Mahāyāna, coming to India by sea-route.

(7) Ling-yun (Prajñādeva) who was a student of fine art at Nālandā and painted the Maitreya and the Bodhidruma.

(8) Tche-hong who came from a Chinese aristocratic family, being the nephew of Ambassador Wang-Hiuen-tse, and became a student of Mahāyāna at Nālandā.

(9) Ou-hing (a second Prajñādeva) who studied at Nālandā Yoga, the Kośas and Rules of Discipline and also practised Yoga and meditation (Vipaśyana) [p. 192 of Nilakantha Sastri's Article on *Nalandā* in *Madras University Journal* XIII, 2].

As regards I-tsing himself, he first stayed for a year at Nālandā studying Śabdavidyā and Mahāyāna and later came back, and lived for 10 years at Nālandā, studying the lives of the saints.

I-tsing was followed by several other Chinese scholars like Ou-Kong who lived at Nālandā for 3 years (*c.* A. D. 765-8); and Ki-ye, who came to India about 970 A. D. and visited Nālandā.

Difficulties of Travelling. Glimpses of some of the difficulties encountered by these foreign scholars on their way to India are also given. Fa-hien who travelled in India between A. D. 399-414 states that he passed through about 30 countries where at places "death seemed inevitable". [Legge's *Fa-hien*, p. 117]. Yuan Chwang says that "alone he had crossed trackless wastes, and bravely climbed mountains high beyond conjecture, even chilled by icy wind, and cold with eternal snow" [p. 12 of Watters). The difficulties due to man were sometimes greater, such as detention and arrest in hostile territory. Once a royal host grew too fond of him till he had to resort to hunger-strike to obtain release from his clutches.

Difficulty of Admission. What led students from these distant countries, through centuries, to face the risks of such journeys to India? It was their zeal for the learning and culture of India. It was no mere elementary education they were seeking. They were out on quest of the higher knowledge of which Nālandā was the most famous centre in the East. Admission to Nālandā as an Academy of advanced study and research was, accordingly, not very easy. It was in the hands of a Board of Specialist who held a difficult test for it. As stated by Ywan Chwang [Watters, II. 165], "only two or three out of ten" could pass that entrance test. "The majority, beaten by the difficulties of the problems, withdraw, even of those from abroad." This means that only 20% were passed at the Entrance examination of Nālandā, and 80% were failed. The severity of the examination was necessary to maintain the standard of its learning for which the University was so far-famed. Yuan Chwang points out that "foreign students came to Nālandā to put an end to their doubts and then to become celebrated" [*Ib*]. They came to complete at Nālandā the investigations upon which they had been engaged at home. This should be the aim of all students seeking further education in foreign countries. The highest academic honour of the times was a Fellowship of Nālandā, the stamp of its studentship. Yuan Chwang says: "Those who stole the name of Nālandā brother (or student) were all treated with respect wherever they went" [*ib*]. No wonder that this coveted *imprimatur* of Nālandā lent itself to the practice of fraud for its acquisition.

I-tsing [p. 177 of Takakusu] also records the same facts. At Nālandā, "there assemble eminent and accomplished men in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and, after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, became far-famed for their wisdom." Thus the students of Nālandā were already "eminent and accomplished" in learning, and looked to the "wise men" of Nālandā, its teachers, to complete their learning.

Learning by Discussion. The method of learning pursued at Nālandā, its pedagogic principles and practices, were shaped by the contents and character of that learning. Learning was by discussion, and interrogation. As noted by Yuan Chwang [*Life*, p. 112]: "Learning and discussing, they found the day too short; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors, mutually helping to perfection."

Number of Teachers and Taught. The most striking and singular feature of Nālandā was that, although it was a post-graduate Institute for higher study and research, it was the largest residential University which India has known to this day. The number of its students in residence in Yuan-Chwang's time "always" came up to 10,000, counting in that number "the priests belonging to the convent or strangers residing therein [*Life*, p. 112.] Yuan Chwang further computes that, out of these 10,000 resident scholars, 1510 were teachers and 8,500 students. Of these teachers, he thus describes their intellectual attainment: "there are 1000 men who can explain 20 collections of Sūtras and Śāstras; 500 who can explain 30 collections, and perhaps 10 who can explain 50 collection" [*Ib.*] I-tsing counts the number of fully ordained Monks at 3500.

The proportion of the number of teachers to that of the taught works out to be 1 to 5 and indicates the extent to which it was possible for a teacher to give his individual attention to the pupils belonging to the small tutorial group committed to his care.

Number of Daily Lectures. It is also stated by Yuan Chwang that these teachers delivered between them every day as many as 100 Lectures or Discourses, "and the students attend those Discourses without any fail, even for a minute" [*Ib.*] Thus we may take it that a hundred different subjects were being daily taught by the teachers to as many different classes of students, while the fact that the discourses of the teachers were always attended by the students concerned shows that the teaching work of the institution was going on at all working hours. There are few educational institutions that conduct 100 different classes of research students in as many different subjects.

Variety of Studies. Accordingly, the Courses of Study offered by the Nālandā University covered a wide range of knowledge, perhaps the entire knowledge which was then available in the country. They were drawn from the different fields of learning, Brahmanical, and Buddhist, sacred and secular, philosophical and practical, science and arts. The students at Nālandā, as stated in the *Life* [*Ib.*], "all study the Great Vehicle, and also the works belonging to the eighteem sects, and not only so, but even ordinary works, such as the Vedas and other books, the Hetuvidyā, Śabdavidyā, the Chikitsāvidyā, the works on Magic or Atharvaveda, the Sāṁkhya; besides these, they thoroughly investigate the "miscellaneous' works" [*Ib.*]. Yuan Chwang himself became a student of Nālandā for the study of Yoga-Śāstra in which the Nālandā Chancellor, Śilabhadra, was the highest living authority [*Ib.*, p. 107.] In reply to a question put by Śilabhadra, Yuan Chwang said: "I am come from the country of China, desiring to learn from your instruction the principles of the Yoga-Śāstra." His study of the Yoga-Śāstra was followed by that of other subjects like Nyāya, Hetuvidyā, Śabdavidyā and the like, as also of the books of Brāhmaṇas, with the wide area of knowledge covered by them, including philological, legal, philosophical, astronomical subjects, and the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini [*Life*, p. 121.] Among the works studied by him are specifically mentioned the Nyāya-Anusāra-Śāstra a Sarvāstivādin Hīnayāna work, the Prāṇyamūla-śāstra-ṭīkā, a Mādhyamika Mahayāna work, the Śatasāstra of Āryadeva, Kośa, Vibhāshā, Shaṭpadābhidharma-Śāstra and the like. "Thus he penetrated, and examined completely all the collections of Buddhist books and also studied the sacred books of Brāhmaṇas during five years" [*Ib*, p. 125.] Thus Nālandā was the centre of all higher learning in all its branches. And so, while it attracted a keen student of Mahāyāna like Yuan Chwang who, though already a "Master of Law", and honoured as such in India, yet found it profitable to stay there for some time for further study, it equally attracted keen students of Hīnayāna like I-tsing who took advantage of its education for fully a decade. Verily, Nālandā had the merit of collecting at one centre the master of every subject of learning.

Harmony in diversity: This wide diversity of studies brought to the University diverse Schools of Thought. The academic life of the University gave itself up to lively discussions among them of their respective doctrines and practices. The students of Nālandā were not a homogeneous community. They were drawn from different denominations of the Buddhist Church and carried into the University all the differences of its different sects and creeds. What added further to the heterogeneous composition of the University was its admission of the students of non-Buddhistic systems of learning. Nālandā flung its gates wide open to all systems and schools of thought and gave full scope to their expression. The University resolved itself into "Schools of Discussion." It brought together Schools whose "tenets would keep them isolated," and thus became the common meeting-ground of the warring sects and creeds with all their "possible and impossible doctrines" [I-tsing already cited.] Thus, while the intellectual life of the University was a round of animated controversies and hottest debates between contradictory and incompatible opinions and beliefs, these did not affect its academic atmosphere of repose and peace marking a seat of culture. Nālandā thus boldly faced the intellectual differences of the age, its diversity of thought, and the more vital communal differences of creed and custom in a larger spirit of comprehension and synthesis reconciling these differences in common life and brotherhood. It stood boldly for Freedom as its ideal, freedom of thought, opinion, and belief. It stood for Science that would not constrain or coerce conscience. It believed in charity, catholicity, and toleration as the very basis of culture. A writer in the *Hibbert Journal* [Vol. XIII, p.165] describes the educational system of Nālandā as "an experiment in liberty of teaching." It was thus that Nālandā was able to solve the communal problems of the day within its jurisdiction.

Students in charge of Discipline. The students of Nālandā also made their own contributions to its harmony and discipline. Yuan Chwang has recorded that, during seven centuries of its history, there did not occur a single case of "a guilty rebellion" against the Institution. This was mainly due to the fact that important matters like even the residential arrangements of the University were left to be administered by its student-democracy who decided the annual assignment of rooms to boarders. Seniors placed themselves in the hands of the juniors as to details and needs of their physical life. Discipline was also left to students as their own concern. They were to decide the trial and punishment of offences against the fraternity and expulsion of recalcitrants. Dictatorship applied in the sphere of teaching and democracy in the matter of physical needs.

I-tsing says that the expenditure of the University was sanctioned by "the general body of the Monks," so that "the defect that some one may arbitrarily dispose of it does not exist. If any one does not make public declaration and employs something arbitraily, be it only a twentieth of a bushel of grain, he is forthwith expelled by his colleagues." It was only the Monk of the rank of *Kulapati* (Head of the Monastery) who "uses as he pleases the goods of the community, decides important affairs on his own private authority, and without declaring to the Assembly." Thus there was democratic management of the funds and finances of the University, with spending authority allowed only to its executive head.

Master-minds as Teachers: S'īlabhadra. To guide advanced study and research, to solve the deeper problems of philosophy and religious life, Nālandā had to find the best of teachers and the most advanced souls in different parts of the country. Yuan Chwang refers to those he saw. He, as already stated, himself came to Nālandā to specialise in the study of Yoga under its then highest authority, Śīlabhadra, who was the Head or Chancellor of the Nālandā University, while he himself was the best student of Nālandā in Mahāyāna Buddhism, and received a commission from two kings, emperor Harsha of Kanauj, and Bhāskara-varman of Assam, to preach that religion [*Life*, pp. 160, 170, 171, 187].

Śīlabhadra was a Brahmin and prince of Samatata, who renounced his kingdom, and became a *yogī*. As a monk, he declined the gift of a village made to him by the king of Magadha impressed by his debating powers [Watters, II. 109-10.] Among the other teachers seen by Yuan Chwang at Nālandā, he singles out Dharmapāla, the previous President of Nālandā, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Prabhāmitra, Jinamitra and Jñānachandra. Dharmapāla was a native of Kāñchī, taught at Nālandā for 7 years, and went to Suvaraṇadvīpa in his old age.

Nāgārjuna; Suvishṇu; Ārya Deva; Asaṅga; Vasubandhu; Diṅnāga. Nālandā had the best of teachers in all periods of its long history. If one may believe in the account of Nālandā in Tārānātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, Nālandā counted as its teachers many Master-Minds. Nāgārjuna, the Chemist of about second century A.D., lived at Nālandā for long with his famous pupil, Ārya Deva. A Brahmin contemporary of Nāgārjuna, Suvishṇu by name, built at Nālandā 108 temples for the conservation of Buddhism. Ārya Deva was an exponent of Mādhyamika school of Buddhism. Asaṅga, the founder of the Yogāchāra School, "lived for 12 years in the later part of his life at Nālandā." He was followed by the equally famous Vasubandhu as the Head of Nālandā. Vasubandhu's equally famous disciple, Diṅnāga, the celebrated Buddhist Logician, who was a native of Kāñchī in the South, came on invitation to Nālandā where he defeated at disputation the invincible Brahmin Scholar, Sudurjaya, with his band of Tīrtha dialecticians, showing that Nālandā was famous at that time (*c.* fifth century A. D.) as a seat of Brahminical learning [Schiefner's Tārānātha pp. 69 f, 83, 122]. As a result of his victory in debate, Diṅnāga was awarded the title of *Tarkapuṅgava* [*ib.* pp. 131 f]

It may be that, because Nālandā was then more famous as a seat of Brahminical learning that Fa-hien has not noticed it in the record of his travel in early fifth century A.D.

Rāhulabhadra: Rāhulabhadra was another famous teacher at "Śrī Nālandā" in the time of "King Chandra who erected 14 fragrant Halls and 14 incomparable religious schools" [S. C. Vidyābhūshaṇa, *Mediaeval Indian Logic*, p. 146].

Nālandā Scholars in foreign Countries: These creative geniuses who served Nālandā as its teachers themselves created many distinguished teachers who helped in the spread of Indian thought in foreign countries. The trained scholars of Nālandā worked on that mission in a spirit of utter self-sacrifice in the cause of Learning and Truth in countries like Tibet and China, as exiles from their native land, away from their hearths and homes, kith and kin. It is to be noted that these scholars had to acquire for their work in these countries the necessary linguistic equipment, a mastery of languages like Sanskrit and Pali, Tibetan and Chinese, so as to be able to translate into foreign languages the difficult philosophical texts in Sanskrit or Pali. It was these scholars who were the builders of a Greater India beyond the boundaries of India, of an empire of Indian thought, not limited by barriers of space, and based on brotherhood, unlike empires won by force and violence. Thus Nālandā maintained several linguistic Schools, those of Sanskrit and Pali, Tibetan and Chinese.

The Tibetan *Tripiṭaka* mentions the contributions made by the books and scholars of Nālandā in building up the culture and civilization of Tibet. The works of Ārya Deva, Śīlabhadra, Dharmapāla (of the time of Yuan Chwang), and Chandragomin (of the 8th century) were translated into Tibetan. Among Nālandā scholars who settled down for work in Tibet are mentioned Śāntarakshita (about A. D. 749), Padmasambhava (who went to Tibet in A. D. 747), Kamalaśīla, an associate of the first two, Sthiramati, and Buddhakīrti,

Of Nālandā scholars working in China, the more famous were Kumārajīva and Paramārtha, the translator of the *Life of Vasubandhu*, (of the 5th century A. D.), Śubhākara Siṁha (of 8th century) and Dharma Deva who, during 40 years, A. D. 960—1000 A. D., translated into Chinese as many as 118 Buddhist texts.

Nālandā thus functioned through several centuries as a most creative Academy of Higher Learning. It drew foreign students from distant countries to live at Nālandā as Indians, assuming Sanskritic names, while it also sent out its own scholars to foreign countries seeking its learning. It produced the men that could carry the message of India's thought abroad.

The Nālandā scholars also acquitted themselves creditably in the public life of the country. I-tsing tells us how they frequented "the king's Court and its House of Debate to show their talents, present their systems, and seek appointments in the practical government". They were rewarded by the king with grants of land.

We may now give in brief the glorious history of this unique institution on the basis of both literary and epigraphic evidence.

Notices of Nālandā in early Jain and Buddhist Texts. The earliest notices of Nālandā occur in Jain and Buddhist texts.

The *Sūtrakṛitāṅga* [*SBE*, XLV, pp. 419-20] refers to Nālandā as a *bāhya* or an outlying part of the city (*nagara*) of Rājagṛiha. It had "many hundreds of buildings." Its leading citizen was Lepa possessed of much property, "houses, beds, seats, vehicles, chariots, food and drink, servants, male and female, cows, buffaloes, and sheep." At this prosperous place, "Bhagavān Mahāvīra spent 14 rainy seasons" [*Kalpa-Sūtra* Jacobi, p. 64.]

References to Nālandā occur in Buddhist Texts like *Dīghanikāya* [Vol. I, p. 1; II. 81, 83, 211-12 etc; *Majjhima Nikāya*, I. 371-72, 377 f; *Saṁyutta Nikāya*, part II, 110; part IV, 110, 311 f, 322 f; V. 159]. These mention the Buddha sojourning (*viharati*) in the mango-grove (*amba-vana*) called Pāvārika at Nālandā which was at a distance of *yojana* from Rājagṛiha.

A Siṁhalese work of 14th century, named *Nikāyasaṅgraha*, by Dharmakīrti mentions that, after the third Buddhist Council (*Saṅgīti*) was held in the time of Asoka under Moggaliputta Tissa, some heretical monks (*Tīrthakas*) went over to Nālandā where they formed themselves into a dissenting sect called *Mahāsāṅghika* in opposition to the orthodox Sthaviravāda school. Schisms in the Buddhist Saṁgha were known in the time of Asoka who refers to them in both Sarnath and Sanchi Pillar Edicts. After the Buddha, Nālandā developed as a seat of the Sarvāstivādin School or Mahāyāna, as the adjoining Uddaṇḍāpurī (modern Bihar Sharif) became the centre of Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna [see *Memoir* No. 66 of Arch. Survey by Hirananda Shastri for all these references.]

According to these texts, Nālandā was quite a prosperous place in the sixth century B. C. in the time of Mahāvīra and the Buddha. Yuan Chwang records the story that its original grounds were an orchard of mango-trees bought of its owner named Śreshṭhī Amra by 500 merchants for the Buddha [Watters, II, 164.] The Pali texts cited above tell of the Mango Grove called Pavārika where the Buddha used to stay when coming to Nālandā. According to Tārānatha, "the first founder of the Nālandā *Vihāra* was Asoka."

History of its building. The later history of Nālandā is indicated in its association with literary celebrities like Nāgārjuna, from 2nd century A D., as related by Tārānatha. On the other hand, we have to face the fact that Nālandā did not receive any notice of Fa-hien and that archaeological excavation has not brought to light any antiquity earlier than the copper-plate ascribed to Samudragupta and the coin of Kumāra Gupta I. But it may be noted that the Main Stūpa unearthed at Site No. 3 is shown to be made up of seven successive strata and also surrounded by a number of small votive Stūpas built up in two or three layers. On one of these votive Stūpas is found an inscription of the sixth century A. D. which may be taken to be the date of the particular stratum of the Main Stūpa with which it is associated. This is the fifth stratum or Stūpa which is also the best preserved. From the date of this fifth building, we can infer the date of the lowest and earliest Stūpa. It must be about two centuries earlier *i. e.,* about fourth century A. D. Yuan Chwang also dates the developments of Nālandā from Gupta times. He states that its first Monastery was the gift of king Śakrāditya who may be identified with Kumāra Gupta I Mahendrāditya (A. D. 413-455) on the ground that *Mahendra* is another name for *Śakra*. The Śakrāditya Monastery was followed by the construction of Monasteries by later Gupta kings called by Yuan Chwang Buddhagupta, Tathāgatagupta, Bālāditya, and Vajra "These six kings in connected succession added to these structures," the sixth king being "king of Mid-India," who cannot be Harsha as he is taken by Yuan Chwang to be an earlier king, but may be a king of the Maukhari Dynasty, many of whose seals are found at Nālandā and show their connection with it. Buddhagupta and Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya are known Gupta kings. Both Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang, however, record traditions dating the growth of Nālandā to earlier times.

I-tsing also mentions a temple built at Nālandā (Na-lan-tonlo) by king Śrī Śakrāditya[1] (Che-li-che-kie-lono-tie-ti) for Bhikshu Rājavaṁśa.

We may now pause to give an account of Nālandā at its best in the time of Yuan Chwang and Emperor Harsha. Harsha made his own contribution to the expansion of Nālandā. He remitted "the revenues of about a hundred villages as an endowment of the convent" whose monks he loved to serve [Beal, *Life*, p. 160]. This gift was, indeed, worthy of emperor Harsha whose philanthropy and quinquennial charities at his Assemblies are unparallelled in history. To Harsha's Assembly at Kanauj Nālandā sent a contingent of about 1000 Monks.

Description by Yuan Chwang: Many must have been its buildings to accommodate its vast population which "always reached to the number of 10,000." Yuan Chwang speaks of at least 7 Monasteries and 8 Halls. The Monasteries were of several storeys whose "upper rooms tower above the clouds." "Their richly adorned towers and fairy-like turrets resembled pointed hill-tops." "The Observatories were lost in the morning mists." "From the windows one may see how the winds and the clouds produce new forms". The buildings containing the rooms of teachers were of "four storeys". I-tsing saw 8 Halls and 300 apartments. One of the University Library buildings was of nine storeys, while the building in which was installed the

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[1] The identification of these kings is difficult. The identification of Śakrāditya with Kumāragupta I cannot be taken for granted, because Yuan Chwang places the reign of Śakrāditya "soon after the decease of the Buddha" while his biographer states that "after the nirvāṇa of Buddha, an old king of this country called Śakrāditya built this convent", and that, at the time of his writing (A. D. 688) Nālandā had already existed for "seven hundred years" [*Life*, pp. 110—112]. Beal infers from these statements that Śakrāditya was a king of the 1st century B. C. and cannot be identified with Kumāragupta I. According to Tārānātha cited above, the first Vihāra at Nālandā was built by Aśoka. There are, however, good epigraphic grounds for some of this identification. In the *Life*, the kings mentioned by Yuan Chwang succeeded one another as father and son. Tathāgatagupta may be taken to be another name by which Puragupta was known for his Budhist leanings shown by sending his son Bālāditya to Vasubandhu for his education, as stated by Paramārtha in his *Life of Vasubandhu*. Gupta inscriptions are fond of calling the Gupta kings after God Indra. Chandragupta II is given the name Devarāja and Kumāra Gupta I the name of Mahendra. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription describes Samudragupta as the equal of Indra. The Kahaum stone Pillar Inscription describes Skandagupta as resembling Śakra (*Śakropama*) so that there is nothing strange in applying the name Śakrāditya to his father. To add to all this evidence, we may consider that of the literary work *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-mūla-Kalpa* naming the following kings succeeding one another, *viz.*, Samudra, Vikrama, Mahendra, and Devarāja, corresponding to the kings Samudragupta, Chandra Gupta II Vikramāditya, Kumāra Gupta Mahendrāditya and Skanda Gupta. Thus in those days the Gupta kings were freely given some of the names of God Indra. On the whole, the available evidence cannot settle the identification of the names with certainty.

80 feet high copper image of the Buddha by king Pūrṇavarmā was one of six storeys [Watters, II, 171]. I-tsing also states that the buildings were in bricks and comprised three storeys, each 10′ high, while of the temple, "the top floor soars into the sky and makes one giddy in the open." He also refers to Halls meant for the exclusive accommodation of "learned and venerable monks," *i. e.*, the teachers, the cells being intended for the pupils presumably. He saw 8 temples at Nālandā. Yuan Chwang describes the Bāladitya College as made up of "four storeys." It had a separate dwelling assigned to the teacher Buddhabhadra who was Yuan Chwang's first host at Nālandā and "entertained him for 7 days," after which his residence was arranged for. It is also stated that the President had to treat "a myriad of priests" as his guests, "men from every quarter," at the Nālandā, Monastery, with its "six wings." If the Hostels were to accommodate 10,000 monks, we have to infer that a Monastery of 4 storeys should accommodate 1500 inmates or about 400 per storey so that 7 such monasteries could accommodate 10,000. It is also possible that, besides the buildings in brick and mortar the University must have had any number of leafy huts suiting the ideals and needs of the intellectuals who believed in 'plain living and high thinking'.

The *University Library.* Besides its housing or residential accommodation, the University had to house a library to suit the diversity of its studies and standard of its scholarship. The library was located in a special area to which the appropriate name of *Dharma-gañja*, "the Mart of Piety," was applied. It was made up of three huge buildings bearing the three approriate names of *Ratnasāgra*, *Ratnodadhi* and *Ratna-rañjaka*, all repositories of gems (of learning) like the oceans. *Ratnasāgara* was a nine-storeyed building in which was conserved the collection of rare sacred works like *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* and Tāntrika books like *Samājaguhya* and the like. Very probably, *Ratnarañjaka* was the library for *belles lettres*, a sort of a 'Palace of Arts', while the other two libraries contained works of Philosophy and Religion [Dr. S. C. Vidyābhushaṇa's *Mediaeval School of Indian Logic*, p. 146].

Remains excavated: Some of these architectural observations of the Chinese students of Nālandā have been confirmed by archaeological discoveries. There has been brought to light, for instance, a flight

of steps pointing to at least 3 storeys of a particular Monastery. But the excavations undertaken after a lapse of about 1000 years cannot show Nālandā as it was in the days of Yuan Chwang and I-tsing. They have unearthed 12 Monasteries so far, and 9 layers, levels, or strata in one. The remains of other Monasteries show two or three strata, one built upon the ruins of the other. The plan of the buildings corresponds to the description of the Chinese students. Rows of cells served by wide verandahs resting on pillars opened into a rectangular courtyard accommodating a well, and, sometimes, a row of ovens serving as fire-places for carrying on metallurgical processes for the fashioning of bronze images and other metallic articles. The cells meant for meditation did not contain any openings for ventilation [*Guide to Nālandā* by A. Ghosh].

Inscriptions: Besides structures, excavation has brought to light several inscriptions giving interesting facts in the later history of Nālandā. The Shahpur Stone Image Inscription (found at Bihar) of the Harsha year 66 (=A. D. 672) records the installation by General (*Balādhikṛita*) Sālapaksha in the reign of Ādityasenadeva of an image at *Nālandā-mahāgrahāra* which counted as a seat of Brahminical learning and religion.

Yaśovarmmadeva: An inscription of the time of Yaśovarmmadeva (the Maukhari King of A. D. 729-43) records gifts made to Nālandā by the son of his Minister, and also the construction of a temple of the Buddha, high as a hill, by King Báláditya. It refers to Nālandā's learned men, well-versed in the knowledge of the *Āgamas* and *Kalās*, sacred texts and the fine arts and crafts, and also to its multiplicity of Vihāras (*vihārāvatī*) the row of whose summits (*śikhara-śreṇī*) kissed the clouds (*ambudhārā-valehī*). It is also stated that this *praśasti* was composed by two Monks of Nālandā under the orders of the *Saṁgha*. They are named Śīlabhadra and Svāmidatta.

Patronage of Pāla Kings: *Dharmapāla and Devapāla*: The Maukharis were followed by the Pālas as Patrons of Nālandā as shown by their inscriptions. The earliest of these inscriptions is the one mentioning the second Pāla King *Dharmapāladeva*. Several inscriptions found at Nālandā belong to the reign of Devapāladeva, while the one found at Ghosrawa records the following interesting history: At Nagarahāra in Uttarāpatha (also called Udichīpatha) lived Indragupta and Rajjekā to whom was born a son named

Vīradeva who became a monk (*pravrajyaya*) and joined the *Kanishka Mahāvihāra* under Sarvajñaśānti as his teacher. He then visited Mahābodhi, and, thence, the Vihāra of Yaśovarmmapura to see there the Monks of his own Province. There, the King of that region (*Bhuvanādhipa*), Devapāla, treated him with all reverence, while the Assembly of Monks of Nālandā appointed him (*Sangha-sthiter-yaḥ-sthitaḥ*) as Administrator (*Nālandāpari pālanāya-niyataḥ*) of that great Institution decorated by a ring of famous vihāras (*S'rīmad vihāra parihara-vibhūshita*) in succession to Monk Satyabodhi, his bosom friend (*ātmasamasuhṛit*).

Devapāla and Bālaputra: An inscription on a copper-plate issued by King Devaplāadeva in his 39th regnal year (*c*. A.D. 815-854) mentions Mahārāja Bālaputradeva of the Śailendra dynasty, ruler of Ṣuvarṇadvīpa (Java-Sumatra), son of Queen Tārā, daughter of King Dharmasetu, and of King who was the son of the ruler of Yavabhūmi. The mother of Bālaputradeva is named but not his father, while his grandfather is described as *Yava-bhūmipāla* and *S'rī-vira-vairīmathana*. He sent a request to King Devapāladeva through his ambassador (*dūtaka*) named Balavarmmā, Chief (*adhipati*) of the *Maṇḍala* named Vyāghrataṭī (*Suvarṇa-dvīpādhi-pa-Mahārāja-S'rī-Bālaputradevena dūtaka-mukhena vayam vijñāpitāḥ*). *Vyāghrataṭī Maṇḍala* belonged to Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* and hence to the Pāla Empire [Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapāladeva, *IA*, pp. 253—58]. At his request, Devapāladeva made a grant of 5 villages in aid of a *vihāra* which had been already established by Bālaputradeva at Nālandā (*Mayā-S'rī-Nālandāyam Vihāraḥ Kāritaḥ*). The five villages granted by the Pāla King were named Nandivanāka, Manivāṭaka, Naṭika, and Hastigrāma, belonging to the *Vishaya* (district) of Rājagṛiha and to the sub-divisions (*naya*) named Ajapura, Pilipiṅka and Achalā; and the village Pālamaka of Gayā *Vishaya*, and of sub-division (*vīthī*) Kumuda-sūtra, under Śrī-Nagara *bhukti* (Patna Province). This endowment was to make provision for the supply of the necessaries of the Monks of the Monastery such as offerings (*bali*), oblations (*charu*), shelter (*satra*), robes (*chīvara*), alms (*piṇḍapāta*), beds (*śayanāsana*), requisites for the sick such as medicines and the like (*glāna-pratyaya-bheshajyādi*; for the writing of religious texts (*dharma-ratnasya lekhanādi*); and for the upkeep and repair of the monastery. The Inscription describes Devapāladeva as a devout Buddhist (*paramasaugata*) and applies to

him the other usual epithets of sovereignty such as *Parameśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka—Mahārājādhirājaḥ-S'rīmān*.

The provision for *Bali* and *Charu* as Vedic ritualistic offerings shows that the Bālaputradeva College, like the parent foundation of Nálandà, was not an exclusive centre of Buddhist education but admitted of Brahmanical studies and practices pursued by non-Buddhist students on its rolls.

The College was also known as a Centre of Tāntrika Buddhism. The Inscription describes its *Ārya-bhikshu-saṅgha* or the governing body, as a *Tāntrika-Bodhisatvagaṇa*.

Offices: This inscription, which is a unique document of ancient Indian history, with its references to Nālandā and the intercourse between India and Java-Sumatra, also throws interesting light on administration. The royal land-grants were proclaimed in those days before an assembly of the persons and parties concerned, officials and non-officials. In the present case, the following officers were present at the assembly; (1) *Rājarāṅaka* (2) *Rājaputraka* (3) *Rājāmatya* (4) *Mahākārttākṛitika* (5) *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* (6) *Mahāpratihāra* (7) *Mahāsāmanta* (8) *Mahādauḥsādhasādhanika* (9) *Mahākumārāmātya* (10) *Pramātṛi* (11) *S'arabhaṅga* (12) *Rājasthānīya* (13) *Uparika* (14) *Vishayapati* (15) *Dāsāparādhika* (16) *Chauroddharaṅika* (17) *Dāṇḍika* (18) *Dāṇḍapāśika* (19) *S'aulkika* (20) *Gaulmika* (21) *Kshetrapāla* (22) *Koṭapāla* (23) *Khaṇḍaraksha* (24) *Taad-yuktaka* (25) *Viniyuktaka* (26) *Hastyaśvoshṭranaubalavyāpṛitaka* (27) *Kiśoravaḍavā-go-mahishyadhikṛita* (28) *Dūtapraishaṇika* (29) *Gamāgamika* (30) *Abhitvaramāṇaka* (31) *Tarika* and (32) *Tarapatika*. Among the non-official parties and persons assembled are mentioned the *Oḍras*, the *Mālavas*, the *Khaśas*, the *Kulikas*, the *Karṇṇāṭas*, the *Hūṇas*, the *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas* (village officers and dependants), the *Brāhmaṇottaras*, the *Mahattaras*, the *Kuṭumbas*, the *Purogas*, the Medas, the *Āndhrakas* down to the *Chaṇḍālas*.

Village Revenue. There was also an exhaustive enumeration of the benefits or sources of income transferred to the beneficiary by the royal land-grant; "Undivided lands attached to the village (besides those parcelled out among tenants); entire area up to the boundaries; grass—and pasture—lands; grounds, places, mango and *madhuka* trees; water and dry lands; *uparikaras*, *daśāparādhas*, *Chauroddharaṇas* (different kinds of rural levies); freedom from all troubles or exactions (*parihrita—sarvva—pīḍāḥ*); freedom from the molestation of Chāṭas and *bhaṭas* (*a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravesā*); exemption from all taxes due to the King's family or court, with nothing of these in arrears to be paid; under the ordinance (*nyāya*) known as *Bhūmichchhidra*.

We may now note the other inscriptions connected with Nālandā.

Gopāla: The Vāgisvari Stone Image Inscription belongs to the reign of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramesvara Śrî Gopāla.

Incriptions of Dharmapāla. A copper-plate inscription of Śrimān Dharmapāladeva records his gift of a village in the *Vishaya* of Gaya in the *Bhukti* of Nagara to the son of Dharmadatta.

A fragmentary stone inscription found on a stupa records its construction by local craftsmen who are named and employed by the donor Vairochana, a native of Magadha, and friend of Śrīdharagupta in the reign of Dharmapāla.

Inscriptions of Devapāla. A bronze statue of standing Saṅkarshaṇa of the time of Devapāladeva.

A village as donor. A metal image inscription of King Devapāladeva refers to a gift made to Nālandā by the inhabitants of Purika village in Rajagṛiha *vishaya*.

A 'Bahuśruta.' The inscription on an image of Tārā in stone found at Hilsa in Patna district of the year' 35 of Devapāladeva refers to a great teacher of Nālandā *Mahāvihāra*, who bore the name Śrī Mañjuśrī-deva and the title *Bahuśruta*, 'proficient in many religious systems'.

Nālandā as a Mahāpaṭala. Nalanda as an administrative unit is called *Mahāpaṭala* in the *Vishaya* of Rajagṛiha in a votive inscription of the reign of Devapāladeva.

Mahendrapāla. A Buddha Image Inscription of the 4th year of the reign of Pratihāra King of Kanouj, Mahendrapāla, from Bihar Sharif states that the image was the gift of the Saindhavas and set up by Kumārabhadra.

A stone stupa inscription records the construction of a Chaitya in the reign of Mahendrapāla (896—908 A. D.) by the son of Kāyastha Panthāka.

There is also Bālāditya's stone inscription at Nālandā in the 11th year of Mahendrapāla.

Vipula-S'rī Mitra. Lastly, there is the inscription of the ascetic named Vipula-Śrī-Mitra who erected at Nālandā a monastery which was "an ornament of the world surpassing the palace of Indra." The inscription may be taken to be of the first half of the twelfth century.

Buddhist creed. Besides these historical inscriptions, there was one very popular religious inscription defining the Buddhist creed. It occurs, for instance, on a statue of seated Buddha in *bhumisparśa-mudrā* and attended by the labelled figures of Vasumitra, Maitreyanātha, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The Buddhist creed is thus inscribed:

"*Ye dharmāhetu-prabhavā hetun teshāntathāgato hy-avadat teshāñcha yo nirodhaevaṁ vādī Mahāśramaṇaḥ*", "the Tathāgata has duly explained the cause of those phenomena which spring from a cause. He has also explained what constitutes their cessation. So says the Great Monk Mahāśramaṇa."

Variety of seals. Many interesting facts about Nālandā are furnished by many seals and sealings unearthed by archaeological excavation, and the inscriptions they bear. These seals are of different classes according to the authority issuing them.

University and College seals. The first class of these seals may be described as academic, monastic or religious. Their inscriptions being to light the very interesting fact that there were different terms used for what may be regarded as the University, and the Colleges affiliated to it. The largest number of these academic seals were issued by the Central Monastery or University of Nālandā described as a *Mahāvihāra.* The inscriptions are of the form: "*S'rī-Nālandā-Mahāvihārīyārya-bhikshu-Saṅghasya.*" Sometimes the expression *Chaturddiś-ārya-bhikshu saṅgha* is used to indicate the character of the institution as a University 'drawing students from all quarters', including even foreign countries. Besides the term *Mahávihára*, the term *Mahágrahára* was also used, as we have seen, for the central institution or the University viewed as a seat of Brahminical learning.

Names and Seals of Colleges. The subordinate institutions or colleges are called simply *vihāras*, with their governing body described as *saṅghas*. Each college had its own seal. These seals name the following colleges or *Saṅghas*, among others, viz., (1) *S'rī Nālandā, Mūlanavakammavārika-bhikshūṇām.* This inscription shows that the particular college or the *Saṅgha* of the particular school named here was affiliated to the University called *S'rī Nālandā.* (2) *S'rī Nālandā cha (or va) Krāre Vārika-bhikshūṇām.* This probably refers to the college or *Saṅgha* of the particular sect of monks called *Vārika-bhikshus*, associated with *S'rī Nālandā.* (3) *S'rī Nālandā-Mahāvihāra-[Guṇākara] Bauddha-bhikshūṇām.* This mentions the college belonging to the sect of Buddhist monks named *Guṇākara* and affiliated to the central institution called *S'rī-Nālandā-Mahāvihāra.* (4) *S'rī Nālandā chatur-bhagavaddāsanavārika-bhikshūṇām.* This inscription probably points to a college belonging to another sect of monks with its special appellation, viz., *chatur-bhagavad-āsanavārika.* (5) *S'rī Nālandāyām S'rī-Bālāditya-Gandhakuḍī vārika-bhikshūṇām.* Instead of the reading *Nālandāyām*, a suggested reading is *S'rī Nālandā [chā-ā]* with the further suggestion that the letters *chā* and *ā* stand for the expression *chāturddiś-āryya-bhikshu-mahā-vihāra*, in which case the inscription may be thus rendered : " Of the Varikabhikshus residing in the *Gandhakuḍi (ṭi)* named after Bāladitya existing within the jurisdiction of the great *universal vihāra* or *University* of the revered friars of Nālandā. " (6) *S'rī-Nālandā-chātu[rddiśika-Samavāri] kabhikshu-saṅghasya.* This inscription mentions the college of the *Samavārika-bhikshus.* (7) *S'rī Nālandā-Satraka-Samavārika-bhikshūṇām.* This probably refers to the *Saṅgha* of the *Samavārika-bhikshus* placed in charge of the administration of the *Sattras* or alms houses of the University. (8) *S'rī-Devapāla-gandhakuḍyām (ṭyām).* This inscription may be taken to refer to the famous Vihāra constructed by and appropriately named after King Devapāla. (9) *S'rī Nālandā-Mahāvihārīya [chhaturddiśa] vriddha-bhikshūṇām.* This refers to the interesting fact that the aged and seniormost monks lived in a college of their own. (10) *S'rī-Nālandā-chīvara-Koshṭhi-k-āyāt.ā-[rya]-bhikshu-saṅghasya.* This probably refers to the particular *Saṅgha* or college which was in charge of the department of the University dealing with the storehouse (*koshṭha*) and distribution of robes (*Chivara*) among the monks.

It will appear from the names of the above *Vihāras* or *Saṅghas* owned by the different sects or schools of Buddhist monks that the term *Saṅgha* or *Vihāra* may be aptly translated into the English term 'College' which means 'a Unit of Residence'. But in some cases, these *Vihāras* or *Saṅghas* were also units of administration in charge of the Different interests of academic and collective life at the University.

Other Universities. Some inscriptions again bear seals pointing to the existence of several *Mahāvihāras* within the University City of Nālandā. These are thus named : (1) *S'rī-Kara [jña]-mahāvi[hā]-ra.* (2) *S'rī-S'akrāditya-kārita-āhāra.* This refers to the *āhāra* or *vihāra* which was the gift of King Śakrāditya. (3) *S'rī Harivarmma-Mahāvihāra.* This refers to the great *Vihāra* attributed to King Harivarman. (4) *S'rī-Somapāla-kārita-Dhammoyikā-vihārīya-bhikshusaṅghasya,* 'the *Vihāra* constructed by Sri Somapāla for the sect of Dhammoyika Monks' (5) *S'rī-Prathama-S'ivapura-Mahāvihārīy-ārya-bhikshu-Saṅgha,* 'Of the reverend Community of Monks belonging to the first Monastery at Śivapura ; (6) *S'rī-Nā Dharmapāla-deva-gandha-kuṭī-Vāsika-bhikshūṇām,* 'Of the Monks in residence at the *gandha kuṭī* of Dharmapāladeva at the famous Monastery at Nālandā.' This inscription shows that, apart from a *Vihāra*, a *Gandha Kuṭī* was functioning as a separate Hall and a unit of residence for Monks.

It will thus appear that Nālandā was a vast educational complex made up of several *Mahāvihāras* and *Vihāras.* It was a true centre of learning in those days by attracting to its site the various educational institutions of the country.

Royal Builders of colleges. It is also interesting to note the names of some Kings who are stated in the inscriptions to have built for the Nālandā University several of its colleges. Among these the name of King Śakrāditya may be identified with the name of the same King mentioned by Yuan Chwang as having been the builder of a monastery at Nālandā. There is another case of agreement between the evidence of inscription and that of Yuan Chwang in its mention of King Bālāditya as the builder of a monastery named after him. The other Kings named in the inscriptions as builders of *vihāras* at Nālandā are Devapāla, the famous Pāla King, and Harivarman who may have been a Maukhari King or a King of Kāmarūpa.

Uddaṇḍapurī University. At the site of Nālandā was also situated another famous University mentioned in the inscription as Uddaṇḍapura Budhisatvāgama-Mahāvihāra ' the University of the sect of the Budhisatvāgamas situated at the city (*pura*) of Uddaṇḍapura. It is thus apparent that the entire locality was known for the number of its *vihāras* so as to give to it the name Bihar from which is derived its modern name, Bihar Sharif. An inscription on a brass image discovered in the town of Bihar mentions *S'rī Uddaṇḍapura*. Close by was also discovered the inscribed Pillar of Skanda Gupta. The locality seems to have become the stronghold of the Vajrayāna School of Buddhists, and its chief town Bihar supplanted Pāṭaliputra as the Capital of Magadha under its Pāla Kings. That is why the place was invaded by Bakhtyar Khalji who put to the sword most of its inhabitants with "shaven heads" and possessing numberless books which were burnt to ashes.

Purposes of seals. These seals were issued by the Colleges concerned as tokens of their authority, or proofs of authentication, and were attached to the missives or certificates and diplomas issued by them (as *praśaṁsā* or *pramāṇa-patras*) so as to distinguish their graduates from the products of inferior institutions. Nālandā training had a value of its own and was in very great request. The stamp of Nālandā training was sometimes fraudulently used or " stolen ", as Yuan Chwang put it. Most of the Nālandā seals bear the figure of the Dharma-Chakra flanked by a deer recalling the Buddha's first preaching of his Dharma at the deer-forest of Sarnath. The suggestion of this symbol is that Nālandā was the centre of Buddhism which spread from it to different and distant countries through the agency of its literature and missionary scholars.

We have also seen how the statement of Yuan Chwang is generally confirmed by the inscriptions which name the various denominations or Schools of Buddhism pursuing their own studies in their own denominational colleges at Nālandā which brought them together.

Colleges for foreign scholars. The interesting Devapāla-Bālaputradeva Inscription testifies to the interesting fact that Nālandā had also separate Colleges for its foreign students. King Bālaputradeva established there what may be called in moderen parlance the *Suvarṇa-Java-Bhūmi* College to accommodate the scholars coming to Nālandā for their higher education from their distant countries beyond the seas.

It may be noted that there are other such instances of foreign Kings establishing Colleges for the residence of their nationals seeking higher education at its different centres in India. Students from Ceylon had their ' Sīhala-Vihāra ' at NāgārjuniKoṇḍa in Andhra country in the early centuries ; while, later, in the time of Samudragupta, King Meghavarṇa of Ceylon established with his permission at Bodh Gaya a similar Vihāra which was seen by Yuan Chwang. I-tsing states that near Mahābodhi Temple at the same place a Vihāra was established by a South Indian King of Kuluka taken to be the Pāṇḍya country. The peoples of Tukhāra and Kāpiśa had also their separate vihāras at the same place. There was a Chinese College at Mṛigaśikhāvana which was 40 yojanas distant from Nālandā, but it was in ruins when I-tsing came there. In the eleventh century, Chūḍāmaṇi Varman, and his son, Māravijayottuṅgavarman, established a Vihāra at the South Indian port of Negapatam for the monks coming there from the kingdom of the Śailendras. A reference to this institution is also contained in inscriptions of the reign of Kulottuṅga I. It is noteworthy that excavations at Chūḍāmaṇi-Vihāra have unearthed a large collection of Buddhis bronzes.

It may be surmised that these foreign establishments were resorted to not merely by Monks but also by Merchants and Ambassadors from the countries concerned. They served both as Schools and Embassies promoting friendly relations, commercial, and political, between India and her neighbours.

Seals of Secular Authorities. But the seals found at Nālandā are not merely the seal of monastic, academic or religious corporation. There were also seals issued by similar corporation.

Jānapada Seals. There were *Jānapada* seals, *i. e.*, seals which were issued by Village corporations or communities named as follows : (1) *Purikā-grāma-Jānapadasya* ('of the village community of Purikā') ; (2) *Vārakīya-grāma-jānapadasya* ; (3) *Navakā (da)-grāma-jānapadasya* ; (4) *S'rī-Nālandā-prātiva(ba) ddha-Māluyikā-grāma-jānapadasya* ('of the Māluyikā village attached to Nālandā) ; This document thus shows that this particular village Community or Corporation was administratively subordinate to the civil authority of Nālandā ;

(5) *Brāhmaṇī (or Brāhmaśrī) grāma-jānapadasya*; (6) *Ghṛitāñjana-grāma jānapadasya.* The village Ghṛitāñjana may be identified with modern Ghenjana in Gaya District, where Buddhist remains are found. (7) *Kāli-grāmakīya-jānapada* (the Corporation of the village called Kāli); (8) Śrī-*Nālandā-pratibaddha-Bhūtikā-grāma-Vihārastha-jānapadasya.* This inscription shows that a village is under the civil jurisdiction of Nālandā as its administrative headquarters, and also that the office of its Corporation was housed in the *Vihāra* of the village. (9) *Daṇḍa-grāmīya-jānapadasya* (of the Corporation of the village Daṇḍa); (10) *Pañchamuṭikā-jānapadasya* (of the Municipality of Panchamuṭikā; (11) *Chandekaya-grāma-jānapadasya*; (12) *Alīka-prishṭha-grāma-jānapadasya*, (13) *Pāshukalpā-agrahārasya.* This seal was issued by an *agrahāra* situated in the village named Pāśukalpa.

Village Seals. Seals were also issued by Villages as corporate bodies. The name of the following such villages occur on them, viz., (1) *Udumbaraka-grāma* (2) *Malla-grāma* (3) *Aṁkoṭha satta-grāma* (4) *Nandana-grāma* (5) *Mukhyā-grāma* (6) *Taṭākā-grāma* (7) *Vaitāla-grāma* (8) *Kālapīnāka-grāma* (9) *Savarṇṇodakīya-grāma-mudreyam.*

Seals of Offices. Besides these *Jānapada* seals, there were also the seals of *offices* (*adhikaraṇa*) located at different administrative divisions of which the following ascending order may be traced from their inscriptions, viz., *Grāma*, *Naya*, *Vishaya*, *Maṇḍala*, and *Bhukti.* The inscription *S'rī-S'īlāditya-Dharmmādhikaraṇa* points to the ecclesiastical office under its chief *S'īlāditya* as Dharmādhikārī.

The Seals found at Nālandā are those issued by the offices of the following Districts (*Vishayas*) named: (1) Rājagṛiha-*Vishaya* (2) Gayā-*Vishaya* (3) Soṇ-antarāla-*Vishaya*, 'the District of Soṇadoab' (4) Ninna-*Vishaya* (5) Sapradhāna-*Vishaya* (6) Krimilā-*Vishaya.*

The Office of a *Naya* or a Sub-Division of a District (*Vishaya*) had also its own Seal, e.g. that issued by the *Naya* named Pilipinikā, as stated in the inscription, *Rajagriha-vishaye Pilipinikā-Nayasya.*

The Provinces or *Bhuktis* named in the Nālandā Seals are those of Magadha and Śrāvasti.

These Seals show that Nālandā was not merely a centre of education, but also of trade and administration which brought to it a large influx of population.

Seals of Police Offices or Stations (*Sthānas-Thānās*). The following Police Offices are mentioned on seals: (1) *Udūmvara-sthāne-grāma* jānapadasya, 'Of the Village Community of the Police Thana Udūmvara;' (2) *Jakkurakā-sthāna-Sujā-grāma-jānapadasya*, 'Of the Village Community of Sujā at the Police Station of Jakkurakā;' (3)....*dikārī-grāma-Vasishṭha-sthānasya*, 'Of the Police Station Vasishṭha in the Village....'

Seal of a Traders' Guild. A Seal bears the inscription, *Valladihiya-haṭṭā* (modern *hāt*=market)-*Mahājanasya*, 'Of the traders belonging to the market-town of Valladihi.'

Private Seals. Individual citizens of Nālandā had also their *private seals*, such as the seal of "Udayendra kavi," poet Udayendra. There are also found at Nālandā seals of high officers of State like an *Amātya.*

Royal Seals. Lastly, there are also found at Nālandā seals of kings such as Vishṇu Gupta, Budha Gupta, Narasiṁha Gupta, Kumāra Gupta III, Vainyagupta Mahārājādhirāja (an independent king), Sarvvavarman and Avantivarman of Maukhari dynasty, Harshavardhana of Thanesar, Supratishṭhitavarman and Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa and Paśupatisiṁha, Devasiṁha and Īśānasiṁha of unknown lineage.

All this evidence shows that Nālandā was not merely a University town. It was at once a centre of education, of business, of civil life, and administration. The University though situated and segregated within an area of its own and, as stated by Yuan Cnwang, "surrounded by a brick wall which encloses it from without," was not completely cut off from the life of the people of the neighbourhood to whom it was bound by many ties. There was no undue divorce between the academy and the world at large.

The University's Food Problem solved by its Agricultural and Dairy Farms. We shall now turn to the many non-academic problems which the University had to face and solve in dealing with its vast population. While the students and the teachers alone numbered over ten thousand, the other auxiliary, executive, and menial staffs must have numbered a few thousands. The daily problem of the University was to supply this vast population with its necessaries of life, its "four requisites," viz. clothing, food, bedding and medicine (*Life*, p. 113); besides, of course, free tuition. In the then conditions of economy prevailing in the country, an economy based on barter, the University could not make a daily purchase of the vast quantity of these necessaries of life required by its resident population at a ready bazaar or market by payment of cash. The economy of the times also determined the form in which the benefactions and endowments in aid of the University were made by the Donors, kings or private philanthropists, the State or private agencies. These were inevitably in the form of grants of land or villages. There was no Legislature in those days to vote grants of money or cash in aid of educational institutions. At the time of Yuan Chwang's studentship, one king alone, viz., Harsha, as we have seen, made a gift to the University of 100 villages (with their 'revenues remitted by him in favour of the University) [*Life*, p. 112.] In the time of I-tsing, the endowment increased to "more than 200 villages." He also states that "the sovereigns from generation to generation have given to Nalanda these lands for its perpetual upkeep along with men," i.e. labourers for the cultivation of these lands. It was thus the part of the University to make the most of these lands and villages. It had to find the means of its maintenance out of the landed properties granted to it in perpetuity. The University grew up to be one of the biggest landlords of the locality. But it was not merely a question of owning the properties. The responsibility was cast on the University to manage these properties efficiently so as to derive from them its sustenance and the means of its expansion. The responsibility of donors to the University ceased with the granting of their donations in kind, instead of cash. It was for the University to see how it could utilize these gifts in kind and extract the largest revenue out of the numerous villages which it came to own in full and perpetual proprietorship. These grants of land compelled the University to maintain a Department of Agriculture which could utilize these lands to profit and undertake the efficient cultivation of its vast paddy fields and other estates distributed among its more than 200 villages.

It was well that it should be. It was well that Agriculture in ancient India by its system of educational finance came to be

the concern of its Colleges and Universities, instead of being consigned to the care of an ignorant, indigent, and illiterate peasantry. It was well that the University was made to depend upon the profitable working of its agricultural farms, gardens, and orchards for its maintenance. The University thus became a centre of practical training in the arts and crafts, instead of being exclusively a centre of metaphysical and religious studies concerning the things of the spirit.

Some idea of the magnitude of the food problem of the University may be gathered from the observations of its Chinese students who knew it at first hand. As stated by Yuan Chwang, the University's daily supply of food amounted to "several hundred piculs of ordinary rice and several hundred *cotties* in weight of butter and milk." One *picul* is taken to be equivalent to 133 lbs.=66½ srs.=say, roughly, 1⅔ md. One *cotty*=150 lbs=75 srs =roughly, 2 mds. If the daily requirements of the University, as indicated by Yuan Chwang, are computed at 400 mds. of rice, it will feed a population of 16,000 by taking the rationing of rice per head at the standard rate of one seer per day per head. The number of 16,000 for the University may be taken to be a fair estimate, if the number of over 10,000 for the teachers and the taught, as computed by Yuan Chwang, is taken in conjunction with the number of the staff employed by the University for its manifold executive, administrative, and menial services. To the daily quantity of rice consumed by the University's residential population must be added "the several hundred maunds of milk and butter", which rightly formed an important part of their food for its nutritive value.

The provision given to the Monks of food, accommodation, and other amenities and services, naturally varied with their rank and standing. For instance, Yuan Chwang was daily supplied with 102 Jambiras (a fruit), 20 areca nuts (fried areca nuts,) 20 nutmegs, one ounce of camphor, and supply of butter, together with 1 *peck* of the finest rice called *Mahāśāli* which grew only in Magadha and nowhere else, and was "as large as a black bean and became aromatic and shining when cooked," while every month he was presented with 3 measures of oil,' As regards the services and other amenities, he was provided with menial servants, 2 attendants, one a *Māṇavaka*, and another a

Brahmachārī, and also with an elephant as his vehicle [*Life*, pp. 109-10]. According to I-tsing (p. 105), the menial staff of the Monastery included "porters."

The daily and regular supply of this vast quantity of rice, milk, and butter came directly from the University's own paddy fields and dairy-farms out in its villages. The University had thus to see to the profitable cultivation of its fields so as to get out of them the largest harvest of agricultural crops, while it had also to organize efficiently its dairy-farming so as to ensure its required daily supply of the other necessary foods like milk and butter. Thus the University had to establish on scientific lines institutions to give practical training in these two national key-industries of India, agriculture and dairy-farming. The University had also its Farm-houses and Granaries to receive and store up the produce of its fields. The Farm-house was situated outside its precincts. Yuan Chwang halted at the Farm-house for "short refreshment" on his way to the University.

Ārāmikas. Glimpses of the method by which the *Saṅgha* undertook the cultivation of its lands are given in some of the canonical Buddhist texts. It seems that every *Vihāra* was equipped with a special Staff of Agriculturists who were called *Ārāmikas*, the Superintendents in charge of the *Ārāmas* or grounds belonging to the *Vihāra*. We are told how Emperor Bimbisāra of Magadha (of about sixth century B. C.) placed at the disposal of the venerable monk, Pilinda-vachchha, 500 such *Ārāmikas* who were settled in a separate colony of their own, called *Ārāmika-grāma*. The University of Nālandā possessing so many villages and such extensive lands for cultivation must have had quite a large number of such agricultural colonies.

System of Cultivation. The Pali texts also throw light upon the methods of cultivation pursued in those days by the Buddhist Saṅgha. According to the *Mahāvagga* (VI, 39), the *Saṅgha* would ordinarily arrange to have the cultivation of its lands undertaken by the professional peasants on the basis of sharing of the produce. But sometimes the *Saṅgha* would prefer to stock the seeds which might be sown on lands owned by private persons on the same terms of a division of the produce between the two parties.

Seedlings were generally divided in equal shares between the owner of the seeds and of the land on which the seeds were sown.

I-tsing from his direct experience of what he saw at Nālandā throws further light on the system by which the *Saṅgha* arranged for the cultivation of its fields. He states: "According to the teaching of the *Vinaya*, when a cornfield is cultivated by the *Saṅgha*, a share in the product is to be given to the monastic servants or some other families by whom the actual tilling has been done. Every product should be divided into 6 parts, and $\frac{1}{6}$ should be levied by the *Saṅgha*; the *Saṅgha* has to provide the bulls as well as the land for cultivation. Sometimes, the division of the produce should be modified according to the seasons."

"Most of the Monasteries follow the above custom, but there are some who are very avaricious and do not divide the produce, but the priests themselves give out the work to servants, male and female, and see that the farming is properly done."

This statement shows that the *Saṅgha* undertook the cultivation of its fields directly by its own machinery and men or had it done by private agencies, the peasant families of the neighbourhood. In the latter case, the *Saṅgha* had to provide the actual tiller of the soil with the bullocks required for cultivation. The *Saṅgha* would thus employ the landless agricultural labourer who had to pay as the rent for the use of its land a share of the produce amounting to $\frac{1}{6}$. This may be considered as a fairly reasonable rate of rent, considering that the present rents of agricultural lands in many provinces amount to as much as $\frac{1}{2}$ or even $\frac{1}{3}$ of the produce. In the case of a bumper harvest, it might be differently divided between the tiller of the soil and its owner. It may be noted in this connection that, in addition to the owner's share of a sixth of the produce of the land which he did not own, the cultivator had also to pay another sixth of the produce to the State as an additional agricultural levy.

I-tsing also refers to Monasteries getting their lands cultivated directly by their own staff of servants, male or female. In such cases, they would gain more profit, as they would not have to part with any portion of the produce, the expenses of cultivation being limited only to the payment of wages to their paid servants or hired labour. This system was resorted to not for the sake of profiteering but only to ensure, as I-tsing points out, "that the farming is properly done" under expert supervision. He also states that "the Monks have charge of guarding the granaries" where were stored the harvests that were reaped besides "supervision of the lands" under cultivation. They were assisted by "servants in the administration of the Granaries." Agriculture cannot prosper unless it is undertaken by those who command necessary knowledge and resources for it. The system of grants of land to temples, *Maṭhas*, and *Vihāras* made Agriculture in Ancient India the concern of its upper and cultivated classes who could look after it better than the resourceless peasantry.

Another point in the agricultural arrangements of Nalanda is brought out by Yuan Chwang. He says that the University entered into an arrangement with each one of its hundred villages, that two of its "householders" or headmen should enter into a contract with the University for supplying it daily with the quota of rice fixed for each village. Thus if the daily total quota of rice required by the University was 400 maunds, as estimated by Yuan Chwang and stated above, and if this quantity was to come from its 100 villages, the daily quota of rice to come from each village should be 4 maunds for which the two headmen of the village were made responsible.

The same arrangement, according to Yuan Chwang, applied in the case of the numerous dairy farms set up by the University in all its villages from which came hundreds of maunds of milk and butter it required every day, as stated above.

Thus the University had its own Agricultural Department to take charge of the proper cultivation of its fields, the administration of its Granaries and management of its Dairy-farms, by means of hired agricultural labour or under a system of contract by which its paddy fields and dairies were leased out to the headmen of the villages in which they were located on the basis of a stipulated sharing of the produce with the lessees or farmers. Its Agricultural Department had also to take care of its cattle. As we have seen, it had to supply the poor peasant it engaged for cultivation for a share of the produce with the bullocks that he required for ploughing up the land.

Restrictions as to Property. It may be noted in this connection that orthodox Buddhism does not ordinarily permit an individual Buddhist monk to own any property including land for cultivation

He had to live up to his name as a *Bhikshu* or a beggar. Nor was the brotherhood of monks permitted to accept or seek for gold or gifts in cash. It was, however, permitted to accept gifts in kind (*Mahāvagga*, VI.34, 21). Among such gifts in kind are included *Ārāma* or arable land and *Vihāra* made up of buildings (*Chullavagga*, VI.15, 2). But the individual monk as such was not permitted either the possession of land or its cultivation which was far more objectionable. The religious injunction of the *Patimokkha* is that "a monk who digs the earth or causes it to be dug is liable to punishment." These prohibitions which were applied to the individual monk were waived in the case of their brotherhood or the *Saṅgha* as a whole. That is why the *Saṅgha* could accept and possess lands, cattle, buildings, and such other immovable properties, and also engage in agricultural operations and dairy-farming.

The Executive and Building Staff of a Vihāra. Besides Agriculture, Dairy-farming, and Cattle-rearing, another important practical aspect of education in Nalanda concerned its building activities. It had to maintain a Staff of Architects and Engineers to see to its town-planning and construction, and maintenance of its many buildings.

The Buddhist canonical works mention the following officers as making up the Administrative and Executive Staff of the *Vihāra* as distinguished from its Academic and Tutorial Staff:

(1) The Apportioner or Distributor of lodging-places among the monks. He has first to count the number of Bhikshus to be lodged, the number of sleeping-places available, and then to apportion them accordingly (*Chullavagga*, VI.11, 3); (2) The Apportioner of Rations; (3) The Overseer of Stores; (4) Receiver of Robes; (5) Distributor of Robes, Congey or Fruits; (6) Distributor of dry foods; (7) Disposer of trifles (such as needles, pairs of scissors, sandals and braces, girdles, filtering cloth, regulation strainer, etc.); (8) Receiver of under-garments; (9) Receiver of bowls; (10) *Ārāmikas* or those who kept the grounds of the Ārāmas in order; (11) Superintendents of *Ārāmikas* to look after their work and (12) Superintendents of *S'rāmaṇeras* to keep them to their duties (*Ib.*, VI.21).

I-tsing mentions the following executive officers of the University, viz., (1) the *Vihārapāla* whose duty was "to enforce the rules, guard the doors of the University, and announce its affairs to the Assembly of the Monks." He may be compared to the Registrar of a modern University. (2) The *Vihārasvāmī* corresponding to the Master of a College; (3) the Officer in charge of the bolts of the door which he seals with his own seal. These seals are to be returned to the Chancellor and not to be deposited in the houses of the *Vihārasvāmīs*. He was thus the keeper and custodian of the University's effects and records. (4) The *Karmadāna* who "sounds the bell (*ghaṇṭā*) and supervises the repasts."

These offices show that the monks had to undertake various kinds of practical, secular work, apart from their religious and spiritual preoccupations. The Monasteries opened up ample opportunities for business training or education in the arts and crafts. We are told of Bhikshus being deputed to serve as "building overseers" to take charge of building operation, on behalf of a lay-donor constructing a *Vihāra* for purposes of the *Saṅgha* (*Ib.*, VI. 17), so that the buildings might be in accordance with "the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments." Such an Overseer was called *Navakammika*. The appointment was made by a formal Resolution of the Order (*Ib.* VI.5, 3). Bhikshus had to superintend not merely new constructions but also repair works (*Ib.*, VI.5, 2). Sometimes, what with superintending new works, or repairs to old ones, the Bhikshus managed to divide such work among themselves for terms of 20 or 30 years and even for life. This kind of prolonged preoccupation with practical work did not give scope to the religious life of the monks concerned, and, accordingly, a Rule was passed by the *Saṅgha* to the effect that the term for the office of the *Navakammika* was to be a limited one, varying with the character of the construction concerned, and was not to be a continuous period. Thus. "with reference to the work on a small *Vihāra*, it may be given in charge of a *Navakamma* for a period of 5 or 6 years, that on an *Aḍḍhayoga* (a house, shaped like a Garuḍa bird with its roof bent on one side) for a period of 7 or 8 years, that on a large *Vihāra* or *Prāsāda* for 10 or 12 years" (*Ib.*, VI, 17).

Instruction in Crafts. Along with the supervision of building operations, the religious education of every Bhikshu centred round a craft. It was felt by the monastic authorities that the Bhikshus " were ill at ease without the practice of some handicraft" Every monk had thus to toil, spin and to weave. He was allowed "the use of a loom, and of shuttles, strings, tickets and all the apparatus belonging to a loom". The monks had to prepare their own robes and keep them in fit condition with the help of all necessary weaving appliances (*Chullavagga*, V, II ; V 28). The practice of spinning yarn and weaving cloth was obligatory on every monk as a part of his religious training based on training in self-help so that he may manufacture his own clothing instead of depending upon the work of others.

Other practical subjects of education in those days are indicated in the Course for Secondary Education which every student had to complete before proceeding to specialisation. As stated by I-tsing, the Course comprised the following five compulsory and standardised subjects called *Vidyās* : (I) *S'abdavidyā* or *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar and lexicography), (2) *S'ilpasthānavidyā* (knowledge of Arts and Craft through manual training), (3) *Chikitsāvidyā* (Science of Medicine), (4) *Hetuvidyā* (Logic), and (5) *Adhyātmavidyā* (Science of the Universal soul, philosophy).

In this List, Subject No.2 implies instruction in the *S'ilpas*, the arts and crafts of the times, imparted through manual training in appropriate workshops. It is interesting to note that *Chikitsāvidyā* or Medical Education was made compulsory for all students at Nālandā. Even a student like I-tsing who came all the way from China to India for advanced study of Buddhism had first to go through the entire course of Secondary Education and to study Medical Science as a part of that compulsory Course. He himself also states that he made "a successful study in Medical Science", of which the Course was not quite elementary in those days, from the details he gives of it. I-tsing also explains the reason for this regulation making medical study compulsory for all students, not excluding even the Monks : Is it not a sad thing," he asks, "that sickness prevents the pursuit of one's duty and vocation ? Is it not beneficial if people can benefit others as well as themselves by the study of Medicine ?" Thus the inclusion of medical study as a compulsory part of education was a humanitarian measure, and dictated by the highest ideals of social service as an end of education.

Thus Nālandā was not a centre of purely religious and philosophical studies, or of education in the humanities. It was also a centre of practical training in some of the industries and crafts. It was famous as a School of Art, of Craftsmanship, and of Metallurgy. We have already seen how the inscription of Yaśovarmadeva of 8th century A. D. describes the teachers of Nālandā as being proficient in the various *Āgama* or *Śāstras* and *Kalās*, the fine Arts, and Crafts, of which the old Indian texts describe as many as 64 making up their traditional number.

The Nālandā School of Art : its religious basis. The School of Art at Nālandā was famous for the images and sculptures it produced in stone and mostly in metal or bronze. It was inspired by the religious rituals and practices prevailing at Nālandā. These were connected with Mahāyāna Buddhism and its later developments known as Tantrayāna, Vajrayāna and Kālachakrayāna. Their beginnings were noticed by both Yuan Chwang and I-tsing. Yuan Chwang, for instance, mentions the worship at Nālandā of the deities Tārā [Watters, II. 103, 174], Buddha and Bodhisattva. I-tsing refers only to the images of Buddha and Hāritī [Takakusu, p. 37]. The later religious developments brought in new deities and their images for worship. The stages in this religious history are marked by their appropriate examples.

Variety of Images. First, there are the images of the Buddha in both stone and bronze. Secondly, there are images of Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and other Bodhisattvas. Next, we have images of female deities, Hāritī, Tārā, Prajñāpāramitā, and Vasudhārā. Later Mahāyāna is represented by the image of Vajrapāṇi and Padmapāṇi.

Tāntrika Images. Tantrayāna brings in figures of new deities: Trailokyavijaya, who is shown as trampling over Maheśvara and Gaurī ; Heruka, with his garland of skulls and dancing on a lotus ; Jambhāla, the Buddhist god of wealth ; Mārīchī (the Buddhist goddess of dawn) with three faces and eight arms, and companions called Varttālā, Vadale, Varidlī, and Varāhamukhī.

There are also found other Tāntrika images, those of Yamantaka, Vajrasattva, Aparājita, Mañjuvara, and Vajrapāṇi. Of these, Vajrapāṇi is a Divine Bodhisattva who carries in his tiara the image of his spiritual father, Akshobhya. Mañjuvara is a manifestation of the popular Mañjuśrī. Yamantaka is a regular Kālachakrayāna deity with its three faces, protruding tongue, canine teeth, big belly, garland of severed human heads, and riding on a buffalo. Aparājita is represented as trampling upon Gaṇeśa and being served by Indra and Brahmā. There is also another female figure found, identified as that of Kovisrī, but it may be that of Vajraśarada, seated on lotus.

Brahmanical Images. Lastly, Brahmanical religion is represented by the figures of Vishṇu, Śiva, Balarāma, Vāsudeva, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Pārvatī, Durgā on lion or *Mahisha Mardinī*, Gaṅgā, and Sarasvatī.

About these stone images of Nālandā, I-tsing remarks : " There are marvellous sculptured images the beauty of which touches the limit in the art of ornamentation. " The image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara found in a chamber on the side of Chaitya No. 12 is considered as a master-piece of art.

Bronzes of Nālandā. The number of the larger statues in stone discovered at Nālandā is strikingly small. The school of Art at Nālandā seems to have specialised in producing smaller pieces giving scope to work in detail and finish of execution, images in bronze. This particular art depended for its success upon metallurgical processes and metal-casting. Evidence of metal-casting is found in the series of ovens marking the courtyards of some of the monasteries. The best of the Nālandā bronzes belong to the time of the two Pāla Kings, Dharmapāla, and Devapāla, A. D. 780-892. The artistic activity of this period was due to two great artists named, Dhīmān and his son Bitpalo. According to Tāranātha, they were natives of Varendra. They both "produced many works in cast-metal as well as sculptures and paintings. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools."

A fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Dharmapāladeva and inscribed on a sculptured stūpa lays stress on the fact that the monument was the work of the craftsmen of Nālandā (*atratyaiḥ śilpibhiḥ*) and also mentions their names as Kese, Savvo, Vckkaka and Vijjala, There is no doubt that Nālandā, besides its School of Art and Design, had also a School of Crafts served by its accessory workshops as indicated in this inscription.

Art of Nālandā influencing that of Java. The Art of Nālandā School extended far beyond the bounds of the University. The extent of its influence has been the special study of competent scholars who believed that it extended beyond the boundaries of India and influenced considerably the art of a distant country like Java whose culture is mainly based upon Mahāyāna Buddhism of which Nālandā was then the most important centre and stronghold. The close connection between Nālandā and Java has been attested by the epigraphic evidence already cited.